2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed [601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'haqkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth ●844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaughter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex- 868 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected 601 to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The 592 mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his 613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter III

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

000 THERE are many occasions during the lifetime of a Mandan when the relatives have important duties and obligations. Since the behavior between various pairs and groups of relatives has been outlined, the writer proposes to follow an individual from birth to death in an attempt to indicate some of the more important events when relatives play a significant role. In Mandan society, living as they did in earth-lodge villages of closely assembled lodges, there were daily contacts between all the individuals of the village, but the closest contacts were between groups of close relatives. A complete account of a person's relationship with all the people of the village would be an account of Mandan culture to the extent that one village was independent of the other villages of the tribe. This study is designed merely as an introduction to such an account.

BIRTH AND NAMING

844 A woman preferred to give birth to a child in her mother's lodge. When the woman began her first labor, everyone was sent out of the lodge except the old women of the lodge. The lodge was darkened by closing the door and shutting off part of the smokehole. A robe was laid out on the floor near the bedposts where the woman could reach up and hold them. If labors were prolonged, the father's sister came and prepared a drink from one of the ceremonial plants contained in her brother's bundle in which she held rights. In extreme cases, a medicine man or woman of considerable eminence was called in.[1] The most popular bundles were those with the snake, bear, or mink; sacred rites were employed, but the older women supervised turning the child or straightening a leg if delivery was not normal.

1. For a firsthand account see Mrs. Good Bear's narrative in chap. v below.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a or tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth. Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1834-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great